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ABSTRACT

Questions of identity, and the encounter with the draft, are central issues for teenagers, and secondary schools should be capitalizing upon such concerns to facilitate the general education and development of their students. The relationship between each student and the biggest problem of our times--war and peace--should be a thoroughly incorporated feature of the secondary curriculum. To talk about war and peace in the secondary school is to talk about the world. The realities for facilitating self identification with the world are fragmentary and undeveloped, but there are some psychological processes which may be used to suggest ways of relating the individual's self or ego with those few realities of the world community. These concepts are: a) identification, b) socialization, and, c) role learning. If the theories of psychological identification are to be applied, we need to find and talk about world heroes and world leaders with whom they can identify. If the processes of political socialization are to be employed educationally, we need to identify and put the student in touch with agencies of world political socialization, even though in some instances, these are barely coming into being. If role theory is the conceptual perspective to be used, world roles that can be acquired or sought after by the teenager need to be specified and related to him as an individual. (Author/JLB)

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# SELF-IDENTITY IN THE CONTEXT OF WAR AND PEACE

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# SELF-IDENTITY IN THE CONTEXT OF WAR AND PEACE

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"Who am I?" "What can I be?" "Where do I fit?" These are life-long questions for most people. For the child in his teens these questions often represent his most compelling concerns. If the adolescent finds answers or fragments of answers, he is very likely to base substantial parts of the rest of his life upon them. For example, he may choose pursuits that reinforce early shyness and social withdrawal; or, if gregarious and articulate, he may choose quite a different set of pursuits. Before he leaves his teens, the young American, both male and female, encounters the draft and is, willy-nilly, thrust into a consideration of the grand issues of war and peace and their relationship to his peers, his family, his sweetheart, and, most complicatedly, himself.

The teens, then, are a time of self-searching, dramatic commitment to new goals and groups, and personal crisis generated by the national requirements for military service or its equivalent. If such are the overriding concerns of teen-age students, it would seem logical that secondary schools should be capitalizing upon such concerns to facilitate the general education and development of their students. It would seem that the relationship between each student and the biggest problem of our times--war and peace--would be a thoroughly incorporated feature of the secondary curriculum and school program. Yet, here we are, attending the Diablo Valley Schools Project, engaging in a <u>pilot</u> discussion.

To talk about war and peace in the secondary school is to talk about the world. Yet the world as such has few heroes with whom a teen-ager can identify, few worldwide groups active in his socialization as a world being, and almost no world-related social or political roles to learn. After all, is U Thant a hero-image likely to "grab" young people's imagination as might George Washington or Abraham Lincoln? Then, aside from the churches, the Marxist movement, and a few isolated peace groups, what groups or movements are there to socialize the young person about

all mankind in its struggles with self-management? Or, in addition to isolated roles such as "human being" or "world citizen," what other roles are there that a teen-ager may learn in order to relate some part of himself as a social entity to some part of the world?

The realities for facilitating self-identification with the world are fragmentary and still undeveloped, to say the least. However, some of the psychological processes (sometimes called "psychic mechanisms") by which such self-identity may be achieved are familiar enough among behavioral scientists. These conceptual approaches may be useful in suggesting ways of relating the individual's self or ego with even those few realities of world community. These key concepts are: (a) identification; (b) socialization; and (c) role learning.

## Identification

Considered one of the most important concepts introduced by Freudian psychology, "identification" has also been one of the most difficult to apply scientifically or educationally. In scientific usage, it is difficult to differentiate identification from such related processes as "imitation" or "projection." In educational usage, the best we have been able to do in applying the mechanisms of identification is to offer children heroes and ego models.

### Identification in Freudian Theory

Freud, it will be recalled, was perhaps the first psychological theorist to emphasize the decisive role of the early years of infancy and childhood in laying down the basic personality structure of the individual. Freud believed that personality was fairly well formed by the end of the fifth year, later development consisting mainly of an elaboration of this basic structure. Freud also theorized that one of the methods by which the individual resolves his frustrations, conflicts, and anxieties is the process of "identification."

"Identification" may be defined as the method by which a person takes over the features of another person and makes them a corporate part of his own personality. In other words, he learns to reduce psychic tension by modeling his behavior after that of someone else. The more familiar concept of "imitation" is related in a number of ways to "identification." Freud preferred the term "identification" on grounds that "imitation" denotes a kind of superficial and transient copying behavior. As in imitation, the person or the child has a model who, for him, possesses desirable qualities. The copying or imitation, however, becomes something more in the fantasy aspect of identification. In identification, the child becomes, in his mind,

the very person with whom he identifies. Thus, the child is not merely like the model but also psychologically at one with him, experiencing his successes and failures on a relatively sustained behavioral basis. (Hall and Lindzey, Chap. 11.)

According to Freud, we choose as models those individuals who seem to be more successful in gratifying their needs than we are. Thus, the child identifies with his parents because they appear to him, at least during early childhood, to be omnipotent. As the child grown older, he finds other persons with whom to identify and whose accomplishments are more consistent with his current goals and wishes. The mechanism of identification perhaps explains in part the great appeal of the theater and the novel. The reader becomes the hero or heroine, whose adventures are in some sense his own. A similar occasion for identification is found in spectator sports, such as college football. Rare is the spectator who fails to "run down the field for a touchdown," psychologically in the shoes of the player actually doing the running.

In the identification process, it is not necessary for a person to identify with someone else in every respect. He usually selects and incorporates primarily those features which he believes will help him achieve a desired goal. For this reason identification usually involves much trial and error; the child, for example, is usually uncertain about what it is that accounts for the other person's success. From the Freudian point of view, however, the ultimate test is whether the identification process helps to reduce tension. If tension is reduced, the quality is usually incorporated in the individual permanently; if not, it is discarded.

Another aspect of identification is its use in "regaining" an object that has been lost. By identifying with a loved person who has died or from whom one has been separated, the lost person becomes "reincarnated" as an integral part of one's personality. Children who have been rejected by a parent tend to form a strong identification with that parent in the hope of regaining his love. One may also identify with a person out of fear. The child identifies with the prohibitions of the parents in order to avoid punishment. This kind of identification is, in Freudian theory, the basis for the formation of the superego.

The identification process may produce a mature personality structure which consists mainly of an accumulation of numerous identifications made at various periods in the person's life. Whatever the number, mother and father are probably the most important identification figures in anyone's life, according to the Freudian school. The total collection of identifications is valuable for having, in effect, reduced the individual's tensions and provided him with a persisting basis for socio-psychological adjustment.

Freud carried the concept of identification into his explanations of the capacity of a leader to attract followers and mold their behavior. Such a leader is for his followers, particularly in mass situations, a love object, one who relates himself to their thwarted sex needs. They are his followers as a consequence of identification. Waelder further developed this theory, with special reference to the leader-follower relation during wartime. (Waelder, 1939)

Identification as Applied Knowledge

The theory of identification goes little further in its systematic development. Whether the guiding concept is identification, imitation, or even vicarious learning, relatively little is known about the psychological dynamics that go into operation when the child responds to the model provided by a parent, a leader, a hero, or any other object. It has been hypothesized that the closer or more intimate the relationship between the person and the object of identification, as in the case of a child and its parent, the more influential is the identification-person as a socializing agent. Even this almost self-evident proposition, however, lacks strong empirical support. (Child, 687)

Beyond the family, with whom do American children tend to identify? Some guess as to the consequences of identification as a psychological mechanism may be inferred from Greenstein's survey of evidence about trends in juvenile heroes and hero-worship over a fifty-year period. From this kind of evidence we may also guess some of the problems that would be encountered in applying the identification mechanism as an avenue of involvement in world war-peace problems. Greenstein examined five studies of children and adolescents conducted at different points in time between 1902 and 1958. He found that national heroes such as Washington declined as a hero selection of the young. Washington dropped from 29 per cent in 1902 to a mere three per cent in 1958. Other contemporary political heroes, such as an incumbent president, declined as a group from about 12 per cent to six per cent. Business heroes, always relatively few, also declined, but entertainment heroes, especially since the 1940's (apparently after the introduction of television), rose dramatically. Greenstein doubts that these trends are evidence of American decadence, but he does suggest, and most would agree, that the matter of hero models for American youth deserves close and systematic study. (Greenstein, Chap. 7.)

Consider, then, who are some of the world heroes with whom the world's children identify today. The list is short: Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro, General Eisenhower, Queen Elizabeth, The Beatles, and a few others. So much for the living. There are also heroes of the recent past: John F. Kennedy, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and a limited roster of others. But these are

clearly national figures, although some may also be indetified as leaders of world movements. Far down on the list of world heroes one may perhaps find Dag Hammarskjold, about whom a small and sometimes esoteric literature has developed.

In sum, given the trends in juvenile heroes and the short supply of distinctively international figures with substantial achievement in the war-peace field, what is a secondary school teacher to do in order to exploit what little we know of the mechanisms of identification in helping his students relate themselves to personages concerned with a world without war?

## Socialization

From some points of view, the professional and scientific literature on socialization and child development is vast indeed. (Child, op. cit.; Berelson and Steiner, Chap. 3)

As Child puts it, the study of socialization is a field with "a large number of ill-assorted concepts and very tentative hypotheses." Among the very few modestly confirmed propositions that Berelson and Steiner found in the socialization literature were the following:

1. Stimulation and contact -- physical, mental, social -- are necessary for normal human development, that is, development into what the members of the society would consider a human being. This holds to some extent even at the biological level. Minimal physical stimulation is necessary for the normal maturation of the sensory machinery. Normal adult human behavior develops only through the stimulation of other people.

2. Prolonged separation from the mother and a secure home environment, as in the case of hospitalized or institutionalized children -- beyond the age of three months and up to about five years, but especially up to about age thirty months or so -- seems to lead to serious emotional and intellectual retardation: poor relations with people, inability to give or receive attention or affection for any prolonged periods, retarded speech, curtailment of intellectual development, apathy and inaccessibility, even some adverse effects on physical growth.

3. The closer the correspondence between socializing agencies (home vis-a-vis school or parents vis-a-vis peers) the more securely and the more rapidly the socialization takes place. The more the conflicts between, the slower and the more uncertain the process.

4. Despite the extreme range in human cultures, certain similarities in socializations do exist across them, e.g., sibling rivalry.

5. There is a tendency for parents to raise their children the way they were raised, although they may be unaware that they are doing so.

6. By and large, the pervasive emotional tone used by the parents in raising children, and especially the loving-rejecting tone, affects subsequent development more than either the particular techniques of child-rearing (e.g., permissiveness, restrictiveness, punishment, reward) or the cohesiveness of the marital unit (whether it is stable or broken by divorce or death).

7. The specific technique of punishment does seem to carry a boomerang effect, at least in the United States. For example, according to one study, the more severely boys were punished for aggression by their mothers, the more aggressive they were in pre-school.

## Political Socialization

These and similar propositions presumably represent the scope of the socialization literature. However, as Greenstein points out, at least one particular type of socialization -- political socialization -- is a concern as old as Plato's Republic.

In the guise of citizenship training, or "civic education" as we call it today, Plato developed an analysis of politics that viewed the state primarily as an educational organization whose effectiveness and "health" was directly contingent upon the quality of political education. Nearly every major political philosopher since Plato focused heavily upon the problems of citizenship training. However, "political socialization," as a distinctive area of study, with the exception of the American Historical Association studies of the late 1920's and the Charles E. Merriam studies of the early 1930's, is a product of the 1950's. (Greenstein, pp. 5-15)

Certain items in the literature of political socialization warrant particular mention for the insights they may provide for the problem under discussion here. Charles E. Merriam supervised a cross-cultural study of the institutions most directly concerned with the political instruction of children and youth, namely, the school system, youth groups, political parties, private associations, and governmental bureaucracy. As Greenstein suggests, the studies were mainly impressionistic and, in fact, failed to refer to the family as an agency of political socialization. Yet Merriam's summation of the 9-volume series

is a classic for its capacity to orient the educator to the multi-cultural aspects of this problem and for the inspiration it provided later students of the subject. (Merriam, 1931)

Harold D. Lasswell, one of Merriam's most eminent students, came to the subject of political socialization in a variety of ways, but mainly only to urge further study. His essay on "Democratic Character" is perhaps one of the most stimulating treatments of the distinctive characteristics of leadership personality in democratic societies that is available. (Lasswell, 1951)

In 1959, a sociologist, Herbert H. Hyman, provided further impetus with a publication of his volume on Political Socialization. (Hyman, 1959) Hyman's effort was essentially an inventory of recent empirical studies conducted by psychologists concerned with American political behavior. These studies, according to Hyman, revealed that political participation, political orientation, and authoritarian-democratic tendencies found among adults usually had their origins in earlier stages of development. For political participation especially, the sex differentiation was observed at a very early age. He also found a progressive development of positive political orientation as children grew older and advanced in schooling. However, at different stages of development, youth of different economic classes tended to differ appreciably in party preference, self-identification with the "working class," and similar attitudes.

In looking at the agencies for socializing children into politics, Hyman reported that the literature establishes the total family structure -- both parents and the relationships among all members -- as clearly the most influential agency. However, Hyman found evidence that parental influence is somewhat systematically attenuated by the changing social and political environment encountered by each succeeding generation. This generational factor seems, to a significant degree, to promote youthful departures from parental positions on party affiliation, ideological orientation, and such matters as tolerance for non-conformity.

In 1960 two studies of political socialization appeared which represent the most substantial contemporary political science efforts to fathom the political socialization process: (1) the Easton and Hess investigation of childrens' attitudes in Grades 2 through 7 as well as in high school, and (2) the Greenstein study of 659 children in Grades 4 through 8 in New Haven, Connecticut. The original Easton-Hess study was followed by another involving some 17,000 children in eight major American cities. (Hess and Easton, 1960; Easton and Hess, 1961; Easton and Dennis, 1967)

The Easton-Hess studies were concerned with the content of particular attitudes developed by children during the elementary school years, e.g., their perceptions of political figures and organizations and their conceptions of the role of citizens in the political system; the institutional and personal agencies from which these political attitudes and behavior were acquired; and the pattern of change and growth in attitudes as the child matures. They found that children are aware and involved with political objects, at least in an attitudinal manner, at a fairly tender age, specifically, as early as ages 7, 8, and 9. Among some of the principal Easton-Hess findings were the following:

The young child's relation with the political system begins with a strong positive attachment to this country; the United States is seen as an ideal and superior to other countries.

The young child perceives figures and institutions of government as powerful, competent, benign, and infallible and trusts them to offer him protection and help.

The child's initial relationship with governmental authority is with the President, whom the child sees in highly positive terms indicating his basic trust in the benevolence of government.

The young child's trust in the political system is expressed not only by a view of figures and institutions as benign but through a view of the citizen's obligation to be a good person.

The child's image of political parties develops somewhat later, and the nature of the difference between the two major parties is not clearly defined in their minds.

Greenstein examined similar aspects of political socialization, particularly the acquisition of political information and motivations for political actions. Greenstein's general findings may be summarized as follows:

The child's first conception of political authority seems to have more affective than cognitive content. The child, like the adult, has a quite firm impression that figures such as the President of the United States are important, but he has no clear understanding of what these individuals do.

Contrary to the often expressed skepticism and disfavor that adults manifest about political leaders, the affective response to political leaders among children is strikingly positive.

Children acquire party attachments before they can make more than the most fragmentary distinctions about the nature of political parties, about what parties stand for, even about who the parties' public representatives are.

Among the levels of government, the federal is the first level of which there is awareness of both the executive and legislature; the state level is the last about which learning takes place.

Agencies of Socialization

While the political socialization studies have tended to focus on the content of the political information of children and their attitudes toward that content, one very significant feature of these studies has been the attention given to the sources of this informational content and attitudinal structure. In the United States at least, the most influential socializing agency is the family, that is, with respect to the more salient objects of information and attitudes: political parties, major political figures such as the President, and the various levels of government. However, other agencies make themselves felt fairly early in the child's development: teachers, neighbors, relatives, peers, the media of communication, and those whose views and behavior are reported through the media. These are sources to which the child is, in varying degrees, normally exposed at an early age in the American culture. As the youth becomes an adult, he is likely more frequently to be aware of and to mention organized group contacts in business, on the job, or in social relations as significant sources of political information and points-of-view. Adults also tend increasingly to mention party and governmental leaders in this same way.

In dealing with the importance of agencies of political socialization, we need to remember one obvious point, namely, that each type of agency includes innumberable particular and specific agencies that transmit widely varying contents and attitudes. Thus, the child from a union member's family is very likely to hear about political objects very differently from the one in a businessman's home. Notions about the relationship between the individual and his government are likely to be different among children in Catholic parochial schools than among those in the public schools. A reader of the Chicago Tribune is likely to hear about the world somewhat differently from the reader of the Washington Post. Republicans and Democrats, by and large, tend to know more about their respective party heroes and party positions than about the other party's. The variety of content and attitudes that originates in the heterogeneity of particular socializing agencies is, of course, what differentiates the democratic culture of this country from all others. Impressive evidence for this differentiation and its probable sources may be found in another study that deals substantially with the processes and consequences of political socialization, that is, the five-nation study of Professors Almond and Verba of Stanford. (Almond and Verba, 1963, 1965)

In the tradition of Merriam's cross-national studies, Almond and Verba examined the political culture of five nations: the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico. However, their approach was systematic and scientific in comparison to the impressionistic Merriam studies. Almond and Verba conducted about 1,000 interviews in each of the five nations, that is, 5,000 interviews in all. Their carefully designed interview schedule required about an hour interview time. Some of the more general findings of the Almond-Verba study deserve mention.

Large majorities of Americans, Britons, and Germans see their national government as having some impact on their personal lives. The Mexicans, however, tended to attribute no effect to their national government.

The bulk of the population in the United States, Britain, and Germany could be called political "allegiants," that is, aware and favorably evaluating the general governmental output. On the other hand, in Italy, and particularly in Mexico, there is a high incidence of alienated subjects and parochials.

Not surprisingly, Germans, Britons, and Americans, in that order, tend to have the most substantial amounts of basic political information. The simplest measure demonstrates that the Italians, and again particularly the Mexicans, are poorly informed.

In the United States and Britain about three-fourths of the respondents claim that they take part in the discussion of politics and other aspects of the political communication process, for the most part without any sense of restriction. In Germany, although much political communication activity is revealed, a far greater proportion feel seriously restricted. The proportion of those that communicate about politics drops markedly in Italy and Mexico, and most of these feel substantial restriction, as in the German case.

In the United States and Britain a large number of respondents believe that the individual should be an active participant in the affairs of his community. At the other extreme are the Italians who reflect no such obligation to participate. The Germans and Mexicans fall between these two extremes.

What can the individual citizen do about an unjust local or national governmental regulation? Three-fourths of the Americans felt subjectively competent about getting something done, whereas the British and Germans felt this way less so and in varying degrees with respect to local and national problems.

Of particular interest here are the Almond-Verba findings regarding comparative agencies of political socialization and the consequences of involvement with and response to such agencies. Almond and Verba begin with the assumption that non-political patterns of relationship and attitude toward authority to which an individual is exposed have an important effect on his relationships and attitudes, analogously, toward political authority. Thus, the authority patterns in the family are the child's first exposure to authority and have significant "carry-over" consequences for his posture toward political authority. Almond and Verba continue:

> . . . The patterns of interpersonal relations within the family, the school, and, to a lesser extent, the job are likely to take forms different from those within the political system. They are likely to be less formal. Decision making in such situations does not involve membership in formal parties or participation in a formal election system; it is more likely to consist of an expectation that one will be consulted, if only tacitly, before decisions are made; or that one is free to express one's point of view when decisions are being considered. Democracy in the more intimate primary groups is expressed in the tone of relations and in implicit norms. (Almond-Verba, p. 274.)

From this point of view, the sources of political information and attitudes are numerous in each of the five nations. Asked to recall how much influence they had in family decisions during their adolescence, respondents in the United States and Britain lead the others in perceived influence over family decisions, although Mexicans, Germans, and Italians, in that order, follow close behind. The British and Americans, however, report far more substantial opportunities to complain about decisions than did the others.

The data on remembered participation in decision making at schools show a sharp and significant contrast between the United States and the other four countries. Reporting on the opportunity to discuss and debate political and social issues at school, 40 per cent of the American respondents indicated that there were such discussions and that they took part. The percentage in the other nations is much smaller, ranging downward from 16 per cent in Britain.

What were the consequences for political attitudes and behavior that these non-governmental patterns of authority had? Almond and Verba find important consequences. Thus, there is a demonstrated connection between remembered ability to participate in family decisions and the individual's current sense of political competence (that is, capacity to change unjust regulations, etc.). A similar relationship was found between involvement at school and sense of competence, but with one very important qualification. In all five countries, the extent of school informal participation is associated with a high score on the subjective competence scale among those in

the lower educational group. In other words, individuals with only elementary and secondary educations derived a more intense sense of political competency and capacity from participation in school discussion, debate, and decision making than (a) those who, with the same education, lacked such opportunities or (b) those with higher education who either did or did not have such opportunities.

For us, the implication is simply this: the politically-relevant activities of elementary and secondary school children at school, particularly as such activities involve the children in the authority and communication structure, may become the most substantial and lasting basis in their lives from which they derive any sense of political competency. This fact should not be lost upon those concerned with developing in the child a sense of competence about his personal role and impact upon the war and peace problems of the world. Particularly for those children who terminate their formal education with high school, their high school experience may be their last and most lasting opportunity for acquiring a sense of personal connection and influence upon the affairs of the world.

In all five nations, according to Almond and Verba, the frequency with which respondents report that they were able to participate in decisions within the family or at school rises with level of education. They also found differences according to social classes. Those of higher social status are more likely to participate in family decisions. Similarly, respondents with higher education remember informal participation, such as complaining about unfair treatment, and formal participation, such as classroom discussion, much more frequently than do those of lower educational attainment.

In the most general terms, the Almond-Verba study found that participation in family, school, and job is related to the patterns of political participation found in each nation. In other words, these agencies of general socialization have profound consequences for political socialization as well. Almond and Verba comment on the significance of these finds as follows:

> A major element of a democratic political orientation is the belief that one has some control over political elites and political decisions. This belief has many roots. An individual might base his estimate of his capacity to influence the government upon direct experience with that government. Opportunities to participate in decisions might convince him of his competence, while thwarted influence attempts might lead to the opposite conclusion. Or he might base his objective competence on more indirect evidence about the operations of the political system. He might observe others

attempting to influence politics and learn from their experience; or he might learn from the estimates that he hears others make of the extent to which the "ordinary man" can influence politics. In these ways he will form his political beliefs from his observation of politics or from his exposure to others' views of politics.

. . . If an individual has had the opportunity to participate in the family, in school, or at work, he is more likely than someone who did not have the same opportunities to consider himself competent to influence the government. . . . Our data suggest that education on the secondary level or above can replace family participation, and to some extent school participation, as a factor leading toward political competence. . . . Those with higher education, this suggests, do not need the push toward a sense of political competence that participatory family and school experiences might provide, for there are so many other factors that operate to make them politically competent. . . . Work-place participation does not have as broad an effect upon one's sense of political competence as educational attainment does; it is a much narrower factor, which does not produce as basic a set of changes in one's intellectual capabilities, values, or social situation. (Almond-Verba, pp. 299 ff.)

Therefore, regardless of country, school participation and communication patterns are a fundamental source of behavioral and attitudinal approaches to political participation and communication during the remainder of the individual's life. The school, it appears, is second only to the family as a conveyer of political culture.

While the Almond-Verba study concerns itself with that culture at the national and local community levels, it clearly sets forth the general schema of socializing agencies, namely, the family and the school, most likely to be basic for the creation of a sense of world culture in the individual. And for those individuals who proceed only as far as elementary or secondary school, the school influence, sparse though it may be, is critical in providing orientations toward the world or less comprehensive political cultures. The only word of caution that need be added at this point is that the impact of world-wide as well as national television has yet to be reported in the researches on political socialization. (The potency of television as a source of role-learning, for example, is indicated in a study by the DeFleurs, 1967.)

One other finding of the ALMOND Verba study should be noticed with respect to political socialization. Those respondents in the five

nations who were members of voluntary associations and other types of political organizations, when compared with those who were non-members, perceived themselves as more competent citizens, inclined to be more active as participants in politics and able to know and care more about politics. Even passive membership, when compared with non-members, in organizations produced significant differences in the sense of political competence. It also makes a difference which type of organization an individual belongs to; political organizations yield a larger sense of political competence and involvement than do non-political organizations.

Almond and Verba also make a significant comment about the relevance of their findings for the emerging world culture:

> What is problematical about the content of the emerging world culture is its political character. Although the movement toward technology and rationality of organization appears with great uniformity throughout the world, the direction of political change is less clear. But one aspect of this new world political culture is discernible: it will be a political culture of participation. If there is a political revolution going on throughout the world, it is what might be called the participation explosion. In all the new nations of the world the belief that the ordinary man is politically relevant -- that he ought to be an involved participant in the political system -- is widespread. Large groups of people who have been outside of politics are demanding entrance into the political system. And the political elites are rare who do not profess commitment to this goal. (Almond-Verba, pp. 2-3)

Applying Socialization Knowledge

While it seems so modest an enterprise, the Diablo Valley Schools Project is, after all, one attempt to explore approaches by which schools may introduce teenagers to that world political culture. The Almond-Verba and other researches tell us much about national political socialization. The structure and process identified in theory and research findings include many types of agencies of political socialization with which the secondary teacher would have to work. What are some of the specific agencies to which the secondary school may turn in seeking vehicles through which the student can be socialized to his world involvement? The answer to this question may be discouraging, but it may also be quite suggestive. Let us briefly survey the agencies of world socialization that may reach into Diablo Valley: the family, the churches, the voluntary associations, the political parties, the schools, the governmental agencies, and the mass media.

The world-affairs content of most family discussion may be seen as having two types of content: (1) the international wars and conflicts so widely reported in the mass media, and (2) the humanitarian concerns emphasized by the churches. From these contents, the world appears to be entirely made up of enemies on the one hand and needy children of God on the other. The passive family observer is implicitly asked to approve of the destruction of "the enemy" as he views the mass media, but is urged to support programs for the world's underprivileged when he appears at church on Sunday. A result of this political schizophrenia is often withdrawal, frustration, and even hostility to all matters that relate to world affairs. There seems to be no place for "normal" family participation in the world political process if the content of the mass media and the churches are to be taken seriously -- it's all shooting or charity.

How can the secondary teacher work with the fragmented reality presented by the media and the churches? As skilled teachers everywhere know, social criticism in the classroom is not so much a matter of opposing as it is a technique for taking the world as the student finds it and helping him develop questions about that world. Consider, for example, a school project in which the student is asked to describe the Viet Nam war by taking notes from television network reports during a single week. Such notes are likely to consist of kill-ratios, battle scenes, and comments about negotiation maneuvers. The following week the same student might be required to describe from any news source, including television, the non-military character of life in Viet Nam. He should be required to use only the mass media as his source. The paucity of material should clearly demonstrate the narrow and conflict-ridden view of world affairs reported by the mass media. Then, during the third week, the same student should be permitted to go to sources other than the mass media for his non-military affairs report. Needless to say, this student should be encouraged to discuss the informational problem with his family and friends.

The school might also raise similar questions about church-related activities in world affairs. Here the problem is somewhat different. Most churches have international programs of one kind or another. The student could be required in the first week to identify the world affairs programs of his local and/or national church, describing them in some detail and indicating how the ordinary communicant may participate directly. Particular attention should be called to the goals of these programs, which are likely to relate to the underprivileged and the needy in other nations. (The assignment can be adjusted ofr unaffiliated students, of course.) The second week should be devoted to identification of the non-welfare programs of churches. In the third week the student should be required to compare the church non-welfare programs with secular programs of the same type available to the family. Once again, the subject is grist for the family discussion mill.

In all of this, we must recognize that the mass media and the churches hold and provide a World View. Each, theoretically at least, sees mankind and man's war-and-peace difficulties from a fairly distinct perspective. The content and history of these perspectives are subject matter for class reading and discussion. Controversial though such subject matter may be, particularly where religious material appears, it must inevitably become a part of the world culture information transmitted to our students. In fact, concern with the world culture may bring into the classroom what has seemed to many students an unrealistic separation of church and state, namely, the fact that churches do have political and civic views and consequences.

What of the voluntary association as a socializing agency for those at the secondary school level? Here the situation is depressingly undramatic. The student is not likely to be attracted to the International Workers of the World or the International Chamber of Commerce. Nor is the International Political Science Association or the International Parliamentarians Association likely to be a source of thrills for the young. Even the available organizations seem primarily committed to college-level youth, e.g., the Council on International Relations and United Nations Affairs, the National Student Association, and the Foreign Policy Association. Perhaps these rather specialized voluntary associations can be encouraged to expand their secondary school involvements. Perhaps the secondary schools themselves can generate such associations.

However, such voluntary associations are quite different from, say, the Young Socialist League or the Marxist Cultural Association. The contrast is important and instructive. Some of our most motivated youth are obviously attracted to the various Marxist organizations for some reason other than sheer perversity or dissatisfaction with life in America. By claim and by ideology, whether founded in fact or not, such movements provide a personal connection to obviously significant and dramatic world developments.

The Communists and Socialists have a developed and articulated approach to world culture and the future of the world that includes instructions for the specific tasks of each individual, all of this obtainable in a few paperbound volumes and readily reiterated in the small-group situations provided by Marxist clubs. A Marxist-led sit-in or mill-in is a low-cost and exciting kind of participation, directly related -- or so it seems -- to what is being said yesterday and today in Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow. American voluntary associations have yet to produce a serious challenger to the Marxist movement as an exciting agency of world political socialization for our young. The sooner we meet that challenge, the better.

It should not go unnoticed that the Marxist associations and clubs are affiliated with world political party movements, the Communist and the Socialist. The Democratic and Republican parties provide no equivalent. Yet, the international political party is well over the horizon, albeit not yet descended into Diablo Valley. In addition to the Communist International and the Socialist International, there are the Liberal International, the Christian Democratic International (mainly in Europe), and smaller, more conservative internationals. (Goldman, 1967) Perhaps a place for Americans to start is Diablo Valley, with the formation of appropriate international youth auxiliaries to the local Democratic and Republican organizations?

The United States government has several agencies whose internationalizing significance for our youth has yet to be fully documented, namely, the Peace Corps, the Army, the Navy, and Air Force. This is not a facetious observation. Very many young people who return to normal civilian pursuits after service in these organizations tend to have significantly distinct information and attitudes about the world and its conflicts from those young people who have not served. The specific character of these differences should be more fully studied.

Each of us is likely to know of at least one returnee from the Peace Corps or military services whose motivation and seriousness about world affairs is impressive, if not sometimes depressive. The last generation of educators has seen and felt some of the consequences of these attitudes. Rarely have there been more serious and devoted students than most of those returning from military service overseas to continue their studies under the GI Bill. Why should not, therefore, the returnee be brought into the secondary school classroom or the school club to tell his peers "how it was." He may encounter some incredulity, but he will also help a substantial number of students come into touch with the world's realities.

For the contemporary teenager the mass media are an inescapable agency of political socialization, particularly radio and television. The teacher can do little more than raise for the student those issues formulated about the press by Robert M. Hutchins' Commission on Freedom of the Press as long ago as 1947. "To attract the maximum audience," reported the Commission, "the press emphasizes the exceptional rather than the representative, the sensational rather than the significant." Most of the press, as the Hutchins' Commission found, does not provide: a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning; a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism; a means of projecting the opinions and attitudes of the groups in the society to one another; a method of presenting and clarifying the goals and values of the society; and a way of reaching every member of the society with these

currents of information, thought, and feeling transmitted through the press. (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947) The school, then, can do little more than assist the student in finding and utilizing that segment of the mass media which does report the representative and the significant. Which are the best world affairs television and radio programs? What newspapers and stations provide the best specialized coverage of world affairs? If these are not available, can the students themselves produce, for example, a World Affairs Broadcast over school or local ham equipment?

Thus, despite the uncertainties of socialization theory, we find that there is a great deal of fairly well-confirmed knowledge from which to draw, particularly with respect to political socializing agencies. However, much practical work has yet to be done to bring the few available world socializing agencies into contact with secondary school students. In many ways, a few of which are illustrated here, the school can become a catalyst for bringing the student's world identity into the family, church, civic, and other socializing facets of his present life.

## Social Roles Relevant to War and Peace

A third body of knowledge relevant to self-identity in world war-peace problems is role theory. While much work has been accomplished in this field since the turn of the century, it has only been since World War II that there has been extensive scientific discussion and study associated with this concept. Possibly the most comprehensive survey of work in role theory is a recently published volume by Biddle and Thomas. (Biddle and Thomas, 1966)

The "role" concept is drawn directly from the theater:

> When actors portray a character in a play, their performance is determined by the script, the director's instructions, the performances of fellow actors, and reactions of the audience as well as by the acting talents of the players. Apart from differences between actors in the interpretation of their parts, the performance of each actor is programmed by all of these external factors; consequently, there are significant similarities in the performances of actors taking the same part, no matter who the actors are.

Biddle and Thomas carry the analogy from the stage into real life, using some of the key terms of role theory.

> . . . Individuals in society occupy positions, and their role performance in these positions is determined by social norms, demands, and rules; by the role performances of others in their respective positions; by those who observe and react to the performance; and by the individual's particular capabilities and personality. The social "script" may be as constraining as that of a play, but it frequently allows more options; the "director" is often present in real life as a supervisor, parent, teacher, or coach; the "audience" in life consists of all those who observe the position member's behavior; the position member's "performance" in life, as in the play, is attributable to his familiarity with the "part," his personality and personal history in general, and more significantly, to the "script" which others define in so many ways. In essence the role perspective assumes, as does the theater, that performance results from the social prescriptions and behavior of others, and that individual variations in performance, to the extent that they do occur, are expressed within the framework created by these factors. (Biddle and Thomas, P. 4)

Role Learning by Children

Several developmental studies of role learning by children reveal a relationship between acquisition of role knowledge in general and the child's ability to handle concepts, including role names. Hartley and his colleagues, for example, questioned children regarding their understanding of the many roles that could be played by one person, that is, the ethnic, occupational, and parental roles of, say, the father, as well as to probe their understanding of ethnic identification. These behavioral scientists found a fairly specific developmental sequence in children's understanding of multiple roles held by one person. The individual, in this case, the father, is first perceived as identified with and limited to a single role in which he is momentarily observed. Later on, he is perceived as having at least one continuous role plus a number of transitory occupational roles. Next, he is perceived as consisting of all the roles he occupies. Finally, he is perceived as selective, functioning in a permanent or temporarily definite role but retaining the potentiality for being other things. (Hartley, 1948)

Strauss, in a study of children's understanding of money transactions, also found stages of development in children's role conceptions. The child first denies that two roles are compatible because each appears to him to belong in a different world, as in the case of teachers at school and storekeepers at the marketplace. Next, different role-players begin to be viewed as distinct bundles of activity rather than kinds of persons, e.g., storekeepers, manufacturers, and customers. These roles may become transferred into each other at successive moments

in time. Roles may also be simultaneous when complimentary but actually involve multiplicity, e.g., the owner of a store who is also an employer of workers. (Strauss, 1952, 1956, and 1965)

The Feffer-Gourevitch studies worked with Piaget's conception of cognitive processes as the means of gaining and organizing information about the environment and about one-self in relation to the environment. Piaget theorized that the development of conceptualizing abilities is coordinate with an ability to shift from one aspect of a situation to another in a flexible manner. Piaget observed this ability in the performance of impersonal cognitive tasks. Feffer and gourevitch adapted the notion to role-taking, and found that the development of conceptualizing ability may have to precede the development of role-taking ability. (Feffer and Gourevitch, 1960)

In general, however, Signell found that students of role theory have virtually ignored the developmental and socialization aspects in the perception and learning of roles. She noticed from that literature that young children are highly aware of specific and salient characteristics of environmental objects. This led her to believe that young children will perceive other persons primarily in terms of roles.

In her own research, Signell defines "role" as membership in a class of persons, on a basis such as occupation, which has social implications, and usually has an observable pivotal attribute. In the normal environment, a role tends to have cues that are apparent and relate fairly unequivocally to the role. Often these cues (e.g., a policeman's badge or a professor's title) are provided by society to facilitate the perception of role membership. Although the role concept may represent a remote attribute, the availability of a pivotal attribute permits the child to use the role label as a simple concept.

Role properties, according to Signell, are also simple, because they are dichotomous categories of objects; a person either has that property or not. Also, a role may really characterize a person as a whole, as well as aspects of a person. This is particularly important for a young child who does not realize that a person can handle multiple role involvements. A role-name stands for a whole person as far as the very young child is concerned.

Role concepts are usually simple, disjunctive concepts since, perceptually, one cue is often sufficient to attribute a role to a person. For example, a title or the position in front of the classroom denotes "teacher." Predictively, such a concept has many implications about other general characteristics. For example, if a person is categorized as a "teacher," he is expected to exhibit some pattern of behaviors that society has prescribed and standardized for all teachers.

According to Signell, role labels are learned early. They are not only simple but also sufficient, that is, from the simple categorization based upon role, a child can make some general predictions about how someone else will behave. It must be assumed that a child can observe that there is consistency of behavior within roles, and that he is taught through fairly direct socialization that such consistency exists. (Signell, 1964)

This writer has conducted research on the role-name information of advantaged elementary school children (family income greater than $16,000) and their disadvantaged counterparts (family income less than $4,000). He found that children of both types, ages 7 to 11, recognized to relatively the same degree such common role-names as baker, neighbor, doctor, sailor, painter, fisherman, friend, etc.; the difference between the groups for these role names was, on the average, at a rate of about 5 per cent. However, when the children were asked recognition questions relevant to certain political role concepts -- traitor, communist, politician, citizen, and president -- the spread between the recognition rates of the advantaged and disadvantaged children increased markedly, to approximately 20 per cent. (Goldman, unpublished manuscript.)

Role Theory in Practice

Role instruction, while almost entirely unexploited in elementary and secondary education, holds, in this writer's view, substantial promise as an avenue for providing school children with an identity directly related to world affairs and the war-peace issue. As Signell points out, it takes very little to establish empirically the existence of a distinct role; a badge is a sufficient cue to identify the policeman role, for example. A role-name, a characteristic physical attribute, a typical behaviroal pattern, and a standard social situation are sufficient to transmit knowledge of some particular world role. On the other hand, a role-name may be the focus of a voluminous literature regarding societal expectations; e.g., "citizen" is the subject of more volumes of political theory than a political scientist is willing to acknowledge.

Yet, if a child cannot recognize the role-name "citizen," as happened so often in this writer's study of disadvantaged children, how can he be expected to be a "good citizen?" The disadvantaged elementary school children mentioned earlier who could not recognize the concept "citizen" attended schools as nearby as Marin and San Mateo counties! Clearly, the socializing agency must provide at least a name of a relevant world social role before it can build a bundle of expectations associated with that role.

The role-names and role cues relevant to world affairs are painfully few in number. A casual inventory produces a short and sometimes unconvincing list: human being, world citizen, soldier (if we think of armies as mainly for international use), Westerner, Easterner -- and that is about it. There is woefully little to build upon. Yet, as the political socialization studies of Easton-Hess and Greenstein suggest, much can be accomplished with small beginnings; the fact that the nation has a name, and a President, and a few major heroes like Washington and Lincoln seems sufficient for starting to orient the child to political objects. Perhaps "human being" and "world citizen," as vague as these role concepts are, may be sufficient foundation for building a conception of world political roles.

Yet, we must acknowledge that the task of giving materiality to world-related roles that a teenage youth can acquire and incorporate into his personality has barely begun. If world citizenship were a legal and constitutional reality, if world party membership were an organizational reality, if world political institutions were sufficiently developed to identify numerous world institutional roles, etc., there would be much to write about in the instructional materials and much to talk about in the classroom and much to learn in the process of becoming socialized to these roles.

On the other hand, we are not without a beginning. There is, after all, a United Nations and its related agencies, each using familiar occupations and skills adapted to worldwide purposes. A nurse, for example, becomes a slightly different kind of nurse when she works for the World Health Organization. A translator develops a number of fairly distinctive role skills if employed by a United Nations agency rather than a national one. Perhaps one application of the role theoretical approach in relating the student to world affairs is to demonstrate the world relevance of such familiar occupational roles. This is sometimes done indirectly through thumbnail biographical sketches in the United Nations Association publication, Vista, but, by and large, materials drawing out such role relationships have yet to be produced for the secondary school.

There are also a number of role-playing simulations available for secondary school instructional use; e.g., adaptations of the Northwestern Inter-Nation Simulation. However, the roles to be assumed in most of these simulations are those of natinal leaders engaged in international conflict and competition with each other! What is needed, perhaps, is a simulation that enlightens the student about the world-oriented perspective of, say, the Secretary-General's role in world affairs.

Role theory, then, has some extremely tangible features from which to draw suggestions about instruction at the secondary and other

levels. Even the singular role of "world citizen" can become a major tool, although the expectations for such a role are more speculative than real. What is wrong with such speculation in the classroom? It is in the best and most effective American educational tradition, as Almond-Verba findings suggest.

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In sum, if the theories of psychological identification are to be applied in bringing the teenager to a sense of personal identity with world affairs and its war-peace problems, we need to find and talk about world heroes and world leaders with whom they can identify. If the processes of political socialization are to be employed educationally, we need to identify and put the student in touch with agencies of world political socialization, even though in some instances, these are barely coming into being. If role theory is the conceptual perspective to be used, world roles that can be acquired or sought after by the teenager need to be specified and related to him as an individual.

This is a very large order for the Diablo Valley Schools Project, large even for secondary education throughout the United States. Yet, we have sufficient scientific knowledge and practical experience with which to make a beginning. As Aristotle observed, acorns are the substance out of which oak trees grow.

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